

# SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

104th Congress  
1st Session

Vote No. 413

September 13, 1995, 9:13 a.m.  
Page S-13483 Temp. Record

## WELFARE REFORM BILL/Voucher Guarantee if Cash is Denied

**SUBJECT:** Family Self-Sufficiency Act of 1995 . . . H.R. 5. Moseley-Braun amendment No. 2471 to the Dole modified perfecting amendment No. 2280 to the committee substitute amendment.

### ACTION: AMENDMENT REJECTED, 42-58

**SYNOPSIS:** As reported with a committee substitute amendment, H.R. 4, the Family Self-Sufficiency Act of 1995, will overhaul six of the Nation's ten largest welfare programs.

The Dole modified perfecting amendment would strike the provisions of the committee substitute amendment and insert in lieu thereof substitute provisions, entitled "The Work Opportunity Act of 1995."

**The Moseley-Braun amendment** would require States, as a condition of receiving family assistance block grants, to establish and to operate voucher programs to provide assistance for minor children of families that were eligible for aid from family assistance block grants but that could not receive it due to time limits, due to the imposition of State penalties, or due to any other reason identified by the State. The value of a voucher would be equal to the value of the benefit that would otherwise be provided for the minor. Vouchers would be used for housing, food, transportation, child care, or any other item or service approved by the State. The State would either arrange for the delivery of goods or services purchased by such vouchers or would provide goods and services directly. (Family assistance block grants would be created by the Dole amendment; they would replace all current Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) programs (AFDC Cash Assistance; AFDC Administration; Emergency Assistance; JOBS Program; IV-A Child Care; Transitional Child Care; and At-Risk Child Care); the Dole amendment would provide States block grant funding for the next 5 years at these programs' FY 1994 funding level).

**Those favoring** the amendment contended:

The Moseley-Braun amendment would protect children from being penalized for the behavior of their parents. Children should not suffer if their parents refused to get jobs or in any other way violated stated requirements and wound up ineligible for family

(See other side)

YEAS (42)			NAYS (58)			NOT VOTING (0)	
Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (41 or 89%)		Republicans (53 or 98%)	Democrats (5 or 11%)		Republicans (0)	Democrats (0)
Specter	Akaka	Inouye	Abraham	Helms	Baucus		
	Biden	Johnston	Ashcroft	Hutchison	Graham		
	Bingaman	Kennedy	Bennett	Inhofe	Harkin		
	Boxer	Kerrey	Bond	Jeffords	Kohl		
	Bradley	Kerry	Brown	Kassebaum	Nunn		
	Breaux	Lautenberg	Burns	Kempthorne			
	Bryan	Leahy	Campbell	Kyl			
	Bumpers	Levin	Chafee	Lott			
	Byrd	Lieberman	Coats	Lugar			
	Conrad	Mikulski	Cochran	Mack			
	Daschle	Moseley-Braun	Cohen	McCain			
	Dodd	Moynihan	Coverdell	McConnell			
	Dorgan	Murray	Craig	Murkowski			
	Exon	Pell	D'Amato	Nickles			
	Feingold	Pryor	DeWine	Packwood			
	Feinstein	Reid	Dole	Pressler			
	Ford	Robb	Domenici	Roth			
	Glenn	Rockefeller	Faircloth	Santorum			
	Heflin	Sarbanes	Frist	Shelby			
	Hollings	Simon	Gorton	Simpson			
		Wellstone	Gramm	Smith			
			Grams	Snowe			
			Grassley	Stevens			
			Gregg	Thomas			
			Hatch	Thompson			
			Hatfield	Thurmond			
				Warner			

#### EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

#### SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

assistance grants. Accordingly, the Moseley-Braun amendment would provide a guarantee that minors would continue to receive benefits for as long as they were needed. It would require States to provide vouchers for children whose parents became ineligible for benefits, and would allow the States to provide those vouchers through third parties. There was a time in this Nation's history when children were commonly abandoned to grow up in the streets or in orphanages. Our colleagues have not offered this bill to return to that time, but unless the Moseley-Braun amendment is adopted that time may well return. We think the purpose of welfare reform should be to get adults to work, not to punish children whose parents fail to work. If our colleagues agree, they should join us in voting in favor of the Moseley-Braun amendment.

**Those opposing** the amendment contended:

The Moseley-Braun amendment would perpetuate welfare as we know it. It would require States to provide welfare benefits without time limit, or without any other requirement for that matter, to care for minors. Supposedly, the benefits would only flow to the children, not their parents. Surely Senators do not believe such a division is possible. For example, if vouchers were used to pay for shelter, would the parents be allowed inside as well, or would infants get their own apartments? Senators who are worried about cash benefits being cut off should keep in mind that any recipients and "their dependents" who lost cash benefits would still be eligible for Medicaid, food stamps, and housing assistance. These timeless benefits are not enough for our colleagues--they want to replace cash with a voucher to buy those items that would have been bought if cash had been provided. This change would totally undermine the purpose of this bill, which is to replace entitlements with a temporary work transition program.

Supporters of the Moseley-Braun amendment believe that it would be helpful to children. We look at the disastrous history of welfare entitlement programs, which have trapped generations of Americans in serial dependency, and we note that the main purpose of each of these programs has always been the same purpose advanced by the Moseley-Braun amendment--to protect children. How many decades of failure, and how many millions of lives will have to be ruined, before some Senators notice that entitlement welfare spending does not help children? We are convinced that welfare recipients can and should become productive members of society. We are convinced, based on several successful programs that have already been tried in some States, that the States can transform welfare programs into temporary job assistance programs. Our disagreement with the Moseley-Braun amendment is based on a fundamental policy disagreement--we believe welfare entitlements are destructive; our colleagues do not. We know that no matter how much evidence we present we will not be able to change our colleagues' faith in the value of guaranteed Federal Government care. For our part, we recognize the destructiveness of such care, and accordingly will vote against this amendment.